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ference to burdens that were unfelt" (p. 265). These three influences are carefully studied. American citizens find here cause for pride in the generous provision which the nation has ever been disposed to make for those who have risked life or limb in its defense. But the cupidity of claim agents, the broadening trail of fraud and corruption, the sully-ing of the ideals of the Grand Army of the Republic and the debauching of politics through attempts to capture or to deliver the "soldier vote"—these are phases of the record that shame us. The history of the Arrears Act of 1879 and of the Disability Pension Act of 1890 are especially impressive. That lavish pension legislation has been in large measure due to "indifference to burdens that were unfelt" is proved by abundant citations. In 1816, in 1830, and in 1836 the Treasury surplus was frankly recognized as the occasion for the new proposals; and at each of these times, as well as later, it was alleged that there was an intimate connection between the proposed increase in pension expenditures and the maintenance of a protective policy.

The abundant statistical material is effectively presented; there are some twenty tables showing the expenditures under each of the pension acts. A striking map (p. 268) shows the per capita disbursements by states in 1910.

The appendix contains a brief discussion of the war insurance law of October 6, 1917, and an outline of the provisions and schedules. This immensely important experiment in compensation and insurance marks a new era in the making of national provision for wounded and disabled soldiers and sailors, and for the dependent relatives of those who lose their lives. A reading of the record of the passing and the administration of our federal pension laws raises the query whether this law has been framed upon such just and generous lines that forty years after the end of this war a combination of fee-seeking claim agents and politicians will not again succeed in manipulating the "soldier vote" to their own enrichment and to the disorganization and corruption of American politics.

Fighting the Spoilsmen: Reminiscences of the Civil Service Reform Movement. By WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. Pp. vi, 348. \$2.00.)

THIS is a very timely and readable book by one who thoroughly knows his subject.

There never was a time in American history when the evils of incompetent and inefficient administration of public affairs were more apparent and the need of an honest and capable personnel in our governmental service more urgent and imperative than the present. With the great problems of reconstruction facing the country and the natural opposition of the professional politician to the merit system becoming more open and pronounced with the period of transition from war to

peace, it is profitable to call to mind the evils of the spoils system and to consider the long and bitter struggle waged by a small band of courageous men of whom the author was one, which finally resulted in the establishment of the merit system in governmental appointments as it exists today.

While not pretending to write a complete history of the civil service reform movement, the author describes in an interesting manner the work of the National Civil Service Reform League and of the Indiana Civil Service Reform Association which came under his personal observation. One of the most interesting and forceful chapters of the book is the one describing the successful fight of the author and his fellow reformers in bringing about an investigation of the Indiana Hospital for the Insane, in the early eighties. It not only gives a vivid picture of the spoils system in all its horrors, but also incidentally portrays the disgusting character of the vituperation and abuse to which the reformers were subjected by the yellow journals of the period. The fact that neither conditions similar to those then existing in Indiana could now exist in any state institution in the country, nor the type of newspaper abuse quoted by the author be tolerated by present-day public opinion, certainly furnishes ample proof that the world is growing better.

A most striking illustration of the evils of the spoils system in the national government is to be found in the chapters dealing with the investigations of the Census Bureau in the administrations of Presidents Harrison and McKinley. Impelled by the partizan desire to increase the population of districts controlled by the party in power and to diminish the population of districts where the opposition party was in the majority, gross frauds were shown to have been committed in different parts of the country by political appointees of the Census Bureau. In one county in Maryland for instance over 1166 names were added after the enumerators had completed their schedules. One of the perpetrators of the fraud, by the name of Guyther, turned state's evidence and testified that Ching, the party boss, told him he ought to get from 150 to 200 additional names. Guyther answered that he didn't know where to get them. Ching replied that he could go to the summer hotels and enumerate the guests, adding, "Are there no graveyards in the district?" Of 528 additional names retained by another enumerator, seventy-three were in Ching's handwriting, twenty-nine had been dead from a few months to twenty years, and 127 had never lived in the district. *In one case Ching not only enumerated a dead woman but also the Washington undertaker who had come down to bury her.* The federal grand jury in bringing in their indictment of the perpetrators of these outrages said in their report, "so long as such appointments are treated as part of the spoils of politics, the recurrence of such frauds and scandals as have been revealed by our investigation may be expected." In view of the fact that the Census Bureau is now making preparations for taking the

1920 census and the usual onslaught on the merit system is being made, the facts brought out in these chapters are very pertinent and instructive.

With the exception of chapter V. which is devoted entirely to the history of the Census Bureau, and chapter XVI. which deals very generally with Civil Service in States and Municipalities, the body of the book describes in chronological order the progress of civil service reform under the various presidents from Harrison down to date. It is interesting to observe how, from the reformer's point of view, each president in turn before his election made solemn promises to enforce and extend the merit system, only to yield, to a greater or less extent, to the pressure from the politicians of his own party. Each president receives from the author scathing criticism in this regard, with one exception, and that is his friend and associate in the civil service reform movement, Theodore Roosevelt, for whom he has only words of the highest praise. He emphasizes among that great man's characteristics, his daring frankness in thought, speech, and action; his utter fearlessness, his accurate sense of justice, his immense human sympathy, his prodigious capacity for hard work, his inspiring personality, and his practical nature—all of which qualities combined to make him a tower of strength in advancing the great and important work of civil service reform.

The author also refers in eulogistic terms to Dorman B. Eaton, Carl Schurz, and George William Curtis, all of whom were closely identified with him in the reform movement. The book itself is dedicated to Curtis in a beautiful verse inspired by one of the last sentences which fell from the lips of that great reformer. The verse is certainly worth quoting in full:

A kingly spirit and a vision clear,
A prophet's prescience and a statesman's mind,
A face to win us and a smile to cheer,
A heart that glowed with love of humankind!
His voice was music and his words were song,
His ways were gentle but his reason just,
Quick to discern the right and scourge the wrong,
And him we followed with unfaltering trust.
He wrote his "Mene, mene," on the wall,
Then passed, and lo! before our eager eyes
The spoiler's palace crumbles to its fall
And on the ruins goodlier mansions rise.
Too soon his voice grew silent, yet its thrill
Along the cliffs of memory echoes still!

There are annexed to the book as appendixes various addresses by the author on different aspects of the merit system.

America in France. By FREDERICK PALMER. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1918. Pp. x, 479. \$2.00.)

To estimate the value of such a book as this solely in accordance with the standards of a scientific review would be as improper as to